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ancient social importance. When Eyraud landed in 1863, the population was distributed in Hanga-roa, Anakena, perhaps Vaihu, and the district surrounding Rano-raraku. The missionaries concentrated the population in a single village and thus broke the last connections of the individuals with their ancestral territory. The memory of the old order survived with remarkable tenacity and as late as 1914 Routledge was able to obtain from aged natives references to lineage groups and their respective distribution. Williamson incorporated some unpublished material given him by Routledge in his study of the Easter Island political system (228, vol. 1, pp. 384-409). My study is based upon Routledge, Williamson, and new evidence which I obtained from natives.

TRIBES

Until recently the entire population of Easter Island was divided into ten paternal descent groups, called "clans" by Routledge. However, the word clan is too definite to be accurate here. I prefer the more general and more appropriate term tribe (*mata*). Although more than two thirds of the present population of Easter Island is composed of half-castes, each native knows to which tribe he belongs, either through his father, or, if the father is a foreigner, through his mother.

Probably at one time every tribe had its own territory which was known by the name of the group. Later the tribes became more scattered and isolated members or entire households of one tribe lived within the limits of another district; in some regions along the coast representatives of more than three groups were mixed. The old territorial divisions thus came to be mere districts where the main part of the *mata*, perhaps the senior line, was settled, and had little to do with the actual distribution of the tribes.

The spreading of the members of a tribe outside of the district bearing the name of the *mata* might have been the consequence of intermarriage and probably also of adoption if the adopted children kept their relationship to the paternal group. Certainly war was an agent of diffusion. Legends frequently allude to defeated people who asked for the protection of some relative among the victors. Members of the tribe which had been crushed in a war became prisoners or subjects (*kio*) of the victors. The *kio* were treated as slaves. Gana (86, p. 34) writes:

> The vanquished men fell as captives to the victor who carried off everything belonging to them including their wives and daughters. The conquered persons were forced to cultivate the ground of their owners. When the victor became tired of his slave as consequence of his age or of some illness, he drove him away and gave him permission to attend to his own affairs. The defeated man, fearing to be made a slave a second time, cultivated only a tenth of the land needed to support him and his family. He preferred to starve rather than arouse the jealousy of his enemies. According to the missionaries and other people with experience in this matter the fear of slavery has been one of the principal factors in decimating the Easter Island people who have become emaciated and consumptive.

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Gana is such a doubtful authority that we cannot know to what extent his depiction of the condition of slaves conforms to reality. It is certainly true that the vanquished were taken to the district of the victors and were employed in menial work. The transfer of families and individuals from one region to another might have aided in the mixture of the tribes.

Some tribes, the Hamea and the Raa for instance, were entirely included within the territory of another group, in this instance the Miru. This is a typical example of the subdivision of a large group into smaller groups. Three tribes (or subtribes) of the east, the Tupa-hotu, the Ureohei (Hitiura), and the Koro-orongo, had no districts of their own, but were mixed and scattered between the north coast and the south coast, east of Anakena and Akahanga, in the region called Hotu-iti. Hotu-iti might have been the name of a tribe, descended from the youngest son of Hotu-matua, which was subdivided into the above-mentioned subtribes, thus explaining the close association of the Tupa-hotu, Ureohei, and Koro-orongo as well as the absence of any distinct area belonging to each of the three groups.

Each tribe had a common ancestor, usually a son or a grandson of Hotu-matua, discoverer and first king of the island. When Hotu-matua knew death was near, he summoned a council of chiefs and the " . . . island was divided into districts and portioned out to the children of the king." To Tuu-maheke, the eldest son and successor to Hotu-matua, were given the royal establishment and lands extending northwest from Anakena as far as Maunga Teatea; to Miru, the second son, the lands between Anakena and Hanga-roa; to Marama, the third son, the land between Akahanga and Vinapu; to Raa, the fourth son, the land lying north and west of Maunga Teatea, which was called Hangoteo; to Koro-orongo (incorrectly spelled Koronga-ronga by Thomson), the fifth son, the lands between Anakena and the crater of Rano-raraku; to Hotu-iti, the sixth son, the east side of the island (215, p. 527). There are some inaccuracies and obscurities in the traditional division, as, for example, the inclusion of Raa as a son of Hotu-matua. In view of the following myth which describes the complicated descent of the Hamea and Raa from the Miru through two brothers and one mother, it is quite improbable that Raa was counted among the sons of Hotu-matua as the ancestor of a primary group.

A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. Taka and Parapuna, two young men of Miru, hid in a cave below Vai-mata with a Miru woman. The woman was pregnant by the eldest brother Taka. Nine months later when she was about to be delivered, she swam with Taka and Parapuna from the cave to Mahatua, where they arrived in the night. The two brothers had a cousin married to a Tupa-hotu who lived there and they walked directly to her house. From outside they asked, "You, our dear sister, are you here?" The cousin answered, "Who are you?" "We are Taka and Parapuna and we bring your sister-in-law who is about to be delivered. That is why we came to you." Their cousin came out and they wept together. She sent them into the cave Ana Omu where they could be hidden. The pregnant woman felt the pains of

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tain legends seem to indicate that some *matatoa* exercised, at least temporarily, supremacy over all the tribes.

Serfs

The *kio* were defeated people who were obliged to serve their conquerors or to pay tribute to them with the produce of their lands. Roussel translates *kio* to mean farmer or servant. On Mangareva a *kio* was a farmer who had put himself under the protection of a rich landowner or who cultivated a piece of land leased to him by some wealthy man. The *kio* were the lowest class of small farmers.

After a tribe had been defeated, those who were not killed and eaten were reduced to the condition of *kio*. Their sufferings and humiliation have been well described by Roussel (190, p. 424) whose information seems to have been obtained first-hand.

When a war was over, the defeated people were kept in caves which they could leave only during working hours. All became slaves and had to plant a certain portion of land for their respective masters. When these masters no longer needed the services of the *kio*, they sent them home under any pretext but really to have fewer people to feed and especially to make it necessary for them to plant all over again. If a dismissed slave forgot the oft-taught lesson and planted again what he needed for his family, he could expect to be robbed; resistance was useless because it would be paid for by renewed slavery or a new war. Therefore the released slaves planted only one tenth of what they needed for sustenance (p. 120), as they preferred to starve rather than to plant for someone else.

The tales and legends make frequent allusions to *kio* concealed in caves, pursued to the most uninhabitable parts of the land, and existing there miserably until they were allowed to return to their land or until the fortunes of war had been decided in their favor.

Secret Societies

The following Easter Island legend, if taken literally, seems to indicate the existence of secret societies and of masked persons organized into bands with the purpose of extorting food from the people:

> Six young men named Aamai went with a distant cousin Toka-ngutu, to make masks. They put the masks on and left Hanga-maihiku where they had been concealed, and went then to Hanga-o-honu. They arrived there at night and entered the houses, saying, "We are gods; we are the god Makemake." They behaved like gods and their voices were like that of a spirit. They said, "We want food, wooden images, dance paddles—all the things you have." When they finished with one house, they went to another, and were again given food and other things from the people there. The seven men left Hango-o-honu loaded with goods and returned to Hanga-mai-hiku where they spent a few days. At night they changed their voices to sound like gods. Men, women and children were terrified and believed they were really gods and gave them food, chickens, wooden images, and all sorts of other things.

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formed part of ceremonies themselves. They were in evidence at koro, where Ngaara and the professors used to come and "pray for the father," and a woman went on to the roof of the house holding the "Kohau-o-te-puré" (prayer tablet). In another case, a woman who wished to honour her father-in-law, and at the same time secure fertility, set up a pole round which she walked holding a child and a tablet, given her by Ngaara, while he and other rongo-rongo men who brought their kohau at his order stood by and sang. 212

Perhaps the most interesting tablet was one known as the "Kohau-o-te-ranga." The story was told to us sitting on the foundation of a house on the east side of Raraku, the aspect which is not quarried. This house, it was said, had been the abode of two men, who were old when the informant was a boy, and who taught the rongo-rongo; some days ten students would come, other days fifteen. The wives and children of the old men lived in another house lower down the mountain. One of the experts, Arohio by name, was a Tupahotu, and had as a friend another member of the same clan called Kaara. Kaara was servant to the Ariki, and had been taught rongo-rongo by him, and Ngaara, trusting him entirely, gave into his care this most valuable kohau known as "ranga." It was the only one of the kind in existence, and was reported to have been brought by the first immigrants; it had the notable property of securing victory to its holders, in such a manner that they were able to get hold of the enemy for the "ranga"—that is, as captives or slaves for manual labour. Kaara, anxious to obtain the talisman for his own clan, stole the kohau and gave it to Arohio, who kept it in this house. When Ngaara asked for it, the man said that it was at Raraku, but before the Ariki could get hold of it, Arohio sent it back to Kaara, and these two thus sent it backwards and forwards to one another, lying to Ngaara when needful. The Ariki seems to have taken a somewhat feeble line, and, instead of punishing his servant, merely tried to bribe him, with the result that he never again saw his kohau. The son of Arohio sold it to one of the missionaries, and it is presumably one of those which went to Tahiti. The matters with which it would naturally have been supposed that the rongo-rongo would deal, such as genealogies, lists of ariki, or the wanderings of the people, were never mentioned. [567]